

# The Sun

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## The New Industrialism.

We extract from a speech delivered yesterday to the farmers at the Oklahoma State fair these striking and pertinent remarks by Mr. BENJAMIN F. YOKUM of the St. Louis and San Francisco and many other railroads:

"The States were originally designed to deal with economic questions because at the time of their organization commerce was almost wholly within the States. The commerce between States then crept slowly over rough wagon roads now it moves swiftly over lines of railroad which would reach almost ten times around the world. As this commerce between the States expanded, and as the transportation was extended, the strictly State questions were pushed over the boundaries of single States into others, until from State to State and from Territory to Territory, a far-reaching, connected and interdependent industrial development was created. This industrial movement must be subjected to some sort of authority and he made to obey some system of law. There is no occasion for treating this development as in any sense lawless, nor is there any reason for attempting to arrest it because it requires a re-adjustment of Federal and State institutions. For after all this thing called interstate commerce and these instrumentalities called railroads represent the very vitality of our national progress and the very health and wealth of our whole people, and the people of the country, instead of being alarmed by inflammatory appeals to adopt measures to destroy them should be taught to enlighten discussion to find some way to promote them and at the same time fairly regulate them."

"The States and the people under the restless force of this development, utilizing the States and the people of the States in one bond of mutual interest, have been welded into an industrial whole, and a cross against one class is a cross against all classes. This is the New Industrialism, which has been mistaken by some as predatory, wealth by others as revolutionary plutocracy and still by others as a cause for New Nationalism. That it must be subject to law and be obedient to Government, no rational man will dispute, but that it should be made the sport of politics, the theme of demagogues or the playing of socialists every good citizen fervently hopes to prevent."

"In order to properly regulate the growth of New Industrialism it is necessary for the Federal Government to have more power than was originally granted, let that proposal of new power be drawn up and submitted in a constitutional method to the States for adoption and let the power of Government in keeping pace with the commerce of the soil, the merchant and the factory increase in an orderly manner as the agricultural and industrial development. This New Industrialism must and will conform itself to the new laws of the country, but it protests that these new laws should be passed from the hot seat of legislation and political economy. It is the source of this New Industrialism on account of its widespread and far-reaching growth should find itself under Federal control, let it be so, but let Federal control be extended in such an orderly way and by such constitutional methods as will on the one hand insure the stability of our Government as well as, on the other hand, promote the progress of our country."

Mr. YOKUM thus reduces the New Nationalism to an irreducible residuum. If it means anything else then the process which he describes, the extension of Federal power to meet new conditions in an orderly way and by constitutional methods, the New Nationalism, or Rooseveltism, is revolution and treason. If it merely signifies progress by constitutional processes in the orderly way the New Nationalism is nothing but the same Old Nationalism.

This truth should be pondered well by the farmers of Oklahoma and the citizens of Everywhere.

## Woodrow Wilson on the Stump.

Over in New Jersey President WOODROW WILSON as Democratic candidate for Governor is furnishing the surprise of the campaign. On the stump he is not prosaic and tedious, awkward, self-conscious and unsympathetic, as many people believed he would be, and as Democratic critics of his nomination, those who preferred Mr. KATZENBACH or Senator SILVER, declared would be the case. On the contrary, he has already proved an attractive campaigner in a style copied from nobody else, his Democratic opponents realize that this scholar in politics cannot be laughed or argued out of court.

A Democratic candidate who can praise the Republican party at a mass meeting and provoke no resentment, a speaker who can say a good word for 25 corporations at a political rally in these hysterical times and not be distrusted, must certainly have a taking way of putting things and an irresistible charm of manner. It was to be supposed that a college president would be able to find words for his ideas and get through a public speech respectably, but those who know Woodrow Wilson only as the head of Princeton did not hope for anything better than speeches written from manuscript, and perfunctory applause of his periods. But he speaks extemporaneously with ease and good nature, shows plenty of humor, tells stories cleverly, uses homely and captivating similes, is clear and simple

in his expositions, and wins applause apparently without striving for it, and workmen and farmers take to him as quickly and heartily as the professional and business men do.

Mr. WILSON is an even more engaging candidate than his most cordial friends can have hoped.

## A Document.

A few of the members of the Republican party who actually believe in direct primaries will possibly find interesting the following veto message, written by the Hon. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES to explain his disapproval of a measure introduced and passed in the Legislature of 1907 by the Hon. EZRA P. PRENTICE, the present Republican State chairman:

"On examining this bill I find that it contains provisions which I cannot approve. . . . And perversion of representative government through selfish domination of party machinery should be difficult if not impossible. . . . This bill in its preferential provisions for nomination by district committees and for the use of an organization or district committee ballot distinctly favors those of any party who are in control. The enrolled voters are not put upon an even footing. Instead of encouraging care and self reliance in voting, the proposed form of ballot makes it easy to dispense with deliberation."

Doubtless it was a recollection of this piece of ancient history which drew from the Hon. WILLIAM BARNES, Jr., his cordial introduction of the nomination of the Hon. EZRA P. PRENTICE for the office which was triumphantly elected. Mr. BARNES and Mr. PRENTICE may differ over the essential question of a temporary chairman, but in more matters of principle their singleness of opinion is impressive.

## The Master of Practical Ethics.

Colonel ROOSEVELT is to lecture on ethics and theology at Harvard some time in the present college year. In theology he is known as a theocentric, that is he believes that he is the centre of the universe. His views on ethics are of more general interest, and with a little concrete illustration from his own rich store of experience they ought to be of special value to young men who wish to succeed. Among the problems which the Colonel will discuss the following are surely to be counted:

1. How often is it desirable that a statesman devoted to his own needs and those of the times should resort to veracity?

2. The ethical corollaries of the principle of *do ut des* as applied to political contributions.

3. Are there any limitations to the legitimate use of the property of the land, for instance, of a railroad company, for the benefit of the good?

4. When, if ever, is sincerity permissible?

5. Forgiveness: temporary or suspensive of one's enemies; how great should be or seem the advantage to one's self before indulging in it?

6. Loyalty in friendship: its inextinguishability and its tendency to produce molochoidism.

7. "He maketh the judges fools"; "her judges are evening wolves"; JOB and ZEPHANIAH as New Nationalists. And so on. In fact the Colonel is such a born lecturer, so rich in matter and so original in his ethics, that Harvard will be lucky if she gets off with less than six months of his lecturing.

A brilliant opportunity for the New Moralities and for the young gentlemen at Cambridge. We entreat our virulent contemporary the *Lampoon* not to quote "Wherefore is this noise?"

## The Hon. John W. Kern's Futile Campaign.

We confess that we see no hope for the Hon. JOHN W. KERN at the present time in his contest for a Senatorship with the Hon. ALBERT JEREMIAH BEVERIDGE in Indiana. Mr. KERN's campaigning methods are not progressive; they are old fashioned; in fact, they are obsolete. He appeals to reason, and not to the heart. He argues, he does not exhort. He does not exude a visible drop of goodness. He is full of facts and empty of tenderness. There is no tremolo in his voice. He never waxes away a tear.

Mr. KERN opened his campaign in Evansville last Saturday night. There was no band in the gallery playing alternately "Marching Through Georgia" and "Dixie," a performance never absent from the Beveridge meetings. Mr. KERN had no "cappers" to trumpet his virtues to the audience. He was the virtuoso. Not much to look at anyway, lacking plumpitude and wearing increased trousers and an ill fitting coat, he made a sad misuse of his time by exposing Senator BEVERIDGE as a political humbug. Mr. KERN's speech as an analysis of the inconsistencies and deceptions of his opponent might have captivated a professor of logic, but there was not a glint of humor in it, not a thrill, not a tear. It was mere bald, unattractive truth from beginning to end. It fell very flat. The execution was perhaps masterly, but the method was bad. We do not think that Mr. KERN's audience came to hear him prove that the Hon. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE was a high protectionist two years ago and a rather for tariff reform short of real revision now; that he was never a friend of the soldier in Congress, but is a howler for a dollar a day pension at this time; that he did not become an insurgent until his seat was in danger, and that he is masquerading as a new nationalist in odds and ends of raiment borrowed from LA FOLLETTE, BRISTOW and CLEMENS. As we have said, the method was bad. It was not the new spellbinding.

How different, how much more effective, the mass meeting as conducted by the Grand Union Man and his friends. Here logic has no place and common sense is tabooed. Fancy reigns instead of fact. All is laughter and tears, harmoniously forming the rainbow of sentiment. Goodness is over all like a golden mist. On the same day that Mr. KERN was a bore at the Evansville meeting Mr. BEVERIDGE was the idol and the hero in a medley of music and bathos at Columbus. The Hon. FRED LANDIS, now out a job in Congress, was the introducer. Referring to a

"staff correspondent's" moving picture of "MARY in the vine covered cottage" who telephoned from village to village the coming of good Mr. BEVERIDGE so that his way was lined with women giving the Chautauqua salute with their handkerchiefs and with old men bowed down with emotion, Mr. LANDIS proceeded, while the tears dripped:

"Senator BEVERIDGE stands for MARY of the vine clad cottage. Senator BEVERIDGE would rather have the indorsement of those people, the common folks at home, than all the money in this world. Senator BEVERIDGE would rather hand down to his little boy, he would rather have some chance stranger say when his last day came and the procession goes down the street, he would rather have some man on the sidewalk say, 'There goes BEVERIDGE. I knew him. I differed from him in politics, but he was an honest man.' It would rather have that little tribute than any money of man. He stands for the freeds, stands for the mother who sits knitting the stockings of her children in the evening. He stands for the man at his bedside who, after a day of honest toil, is reading his paper. He stands for the people that AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE loved and who loved ABRAHAM LINCOLN. He stands by the men who fought the war and saved the Union."

When Mr. BEVERIDGE's turn came he was bravely trying to restrain his tears. He said haltingly:

"Mr. LANDIS has said that a new slogan has been coined for this campaign. It came from the pen of a newspaper writer who perhaps did not know what he was doing when he wrote it. But in those simple lines he has told the story of this campaign. It is the home, the wife, the mother, against the bosses. When we die we cannot take the dollars with us. But we can take the approval of MARY of the vine covered cottage as we enter the other world. . . . I have had opportunity, my friends, to accumulate wealth and power in the sordid sense of those words, but I prefer the wealth of the people's confidence and the power which they give me in the fight for righteousness, to the flesh pots of corruption and wickedness."

These heart appeals, these tear compellers, these testimonies to modest worth and the homely virtues are beyond the capacity of the Hon. JOHN W. KERN. He must be slipping back with every step he takes forward. We do not see where he comes in in this campaign. The letter "B" on the Indiana odd blades was prophetic. It is BEVERIDGE "all the way."

Our recollection is that the Hon. JAMES S. WHITFIELD was a "progressive" in the recent Saratoga convention.

DUNN was one time a State chairman of the Democratic committee and was killed in a duel over a woman two years ago. The Colonel was one of the most ardent of the New Nationalists anywhere to be found.

Non-sense! Colonel GEORGE WASHINGTON DUNN is one of the liveliest of the New Nationalists anywhere to be found.

The Hon. GEORGE P. LAWRENCE of the First Massachusetts Congress district has followed the example of the Hon. FREDERICK H. GILLET of the Second district and promised not to vote for Mr. CANNON for Speaker. Mr. LAWRENCE had a plurality of about 7,000 in the last election and Mr. GILLET's plurality was just under 10,000. These old followers of Mr. CANNON took the pledge to secure a majority in the party ticket. There would be no doubt of election. Like scores of other Republicans who have saved themselves by the same rush of virtue to the head they will feel some embarrassment in the presence of the old gentleman when Congress assembles in December.

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Mortgage the earth, Mr. PATTERSON means, of course. Any registry of deeds would bear him out.

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Perhaps not, but the infallible remedy of a woman professor in such an emergency would be to start the story on its rounds that she was engaged to be married.

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Positively the last taper.

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

Anxious Search for It in the Public Schools.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—Can it be possible that some sick person or some idiot has introduced the philosophy of history into our elementary schools? It is little suspected, even in the schools I am sure that the American Association of Teachers of History or whatever the exact title would be glad to know about it.

Could you induce "Parent" to tell what he means by the philosophy of history so that we may recognize it when we meet it? Could you tell us what the meaning of the word "spread" is? It has this awful subject been cunningly interwoven in the curriculum?

Of course if a book on the philosophy of history is in use it can be obliterated, but if the awful thing runs through our ordinary text books it will be more difficult to eliminate it. I feel that every teacher should be able to explain every sentence that points out cause and effect, every lesson drawn from the experience of the past can be explained and the mere plain, bald statements of events left for the eager young.

Yours very truly, J. M. L. D.

NEW YORK, October 5.

## Man's Usefulness in New Zealand Where the Women Vote.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—The fact that women have the ballot in New Zealand leads Miss Alice Stone Blackwell to believe that it is the cause of an increased birth rate and a decreased infant mortality. But in her letter to THE SUN she offers no proof that this happy state in New Zealand is solely attributable to women voting.

It is interesting to believe that man is entitled to just a little share of the praise. The birth rate has no doubt increased because women vote, no one would dispute that for a minute, but keeping in mind the fact that every sentence that points out cause and effect, every lesson drawn from the experience of the past can be explained and the mere plain, bald statements of events left for the eager young.

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what course he shall pursue in a matter of supreme moment, and to prevent him from following the plans he is maturing for changes and improvements. Such a coalition no self-respecting Executive could submit to or refuse to fight. The immediate and ultimate consequences of such a struggle in the Board of Estimate are not difficult to foresee. Every enterprise in which the community is engaged would suffer. The control of the police would fall promptly into the hands of those from whom an effort is making to take it, and the Mayor would be rendered powerless.

It does not appear that Mr. MITCHELL was justified in the interference with the Mayor's plans which he undertook. He had no plan for the reforming of the Police Department. His information appears to have been defective, to put it mildly. In the hot enthusiasm of temporary incumbency of an office he seems to have found it necessary to blow off steam somewhere and to have chosen the Police Department as the vehicle of his relief. Possibly he gave inadequate thought to the consequences of his excursion among the criminal classes. Certainly he must be filled with regret at the situation his ill advised activities are likely to create.

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## JOHN BROWN AND THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

A Southerner's Study of "High Ideals."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.—In the Outlook for September 3, 1910, ex-President Roosevelt says: "John Brown stands out now as representing the men and the generation who rendered the greatest service ever rendered this country. . . . He stood for heroic valor, grim energy, fierce fidelity to high ideals. A great debt is owed to John Brown because he is one of the most striking figures in the mighty struggle which was to keep us forever a free and united nation, which was to secure the continuance of the most tremendous democratic experiment ever tried. He did much in his life and more in his death, he embodied the inspiration of the men of his generation. . . . John Brown's work was brought to completion. . . . by the men who bore aloft the banner of the Union during the four terrible years which intervened between Sumter and Appomattox."

Coming from one who has held the highest office in the gift of a great nation, this astounding encomium deserves more than a passing notice. By a great many native Americans in whom reason is not clouded by sentiment, sympathy or prejudice, it will be held that despite the unselfish motive which may be conceded as the impelling force to John Brown's fanaticism, the means employed were such as to justify the doubt of the wisdom or right of holding him up as an example to this or other generations. They will hold—and the proof is positive—that for the last several years of his career he was not a law abiding citizen, that he repeatedly and with premeditation sinned against the laws of God and country, that he took by violence and against the law the property (slaves, wagons, live stock, etc.) of peaceable, law abiding citizens and was a participant in the murder of a man who was exercising the first great duty of protecting his home and family, his property and himself, that on May 25-26, 1858, he caused to be taken out of their beds at the dead hours of night five persons (two of these were under age), and in cold blood directed members of his own family and others to cut them to death, which they did; that he was for years an outlaw and fugitive from justice, going about under assumed names, with a reward out for his apprehension, that without any provocation and without any declaration of war, he led an armed invasion of a peaceful community, carrying guns and pikes with which to arm a servile race (knowing, as those who gave him moral and material aid in this expedition knew, of the deplorable Southampton insurrection only a few years before in the same community), and murdered or caused to be murdered offending citizens; that he was guilty of treason in seizing and appropriating to his own unlawful uses the property of the United States; and that he was tried by a court of recognized jurisdiction, condemned and executed on the gallows for his crimes against God and the laws of his country.

The truth of the foregoing rests upon unimpeachable evidence. The partisans of John Brown for a long time denied his participation in the cold blooded massacre on the Pottawamattow, and his family deliberately lied about it. The truth is now known, and it stands out as one of the foulest and most cowardly crimes in the annals of that era of murder and crime in Kansas in which both parties, Pro-Slavery and Free Soil, disgraced America and civilization.

Salmon Brown, a son, in a letter to F. B. Sanborn, author of the "Life and Letters of John Brown," dated December 27, 1859, says: "I was one of the company at the time of the homecoming, and was never away from him (John Brown) one hour at a time after we took up arms in Kansas, therefore I say positively that he was not a participant in the deed," and yet Sanborn, than whom none could be more of a partisan, says: "Those who accomplished it were under Brown's orders and were directed in all their movements by him." "Life and Letters of John Brown," page 258. The men who composed this party were John Brown, his four sons, Watson, Oliver, Owen and Frederick, his son-in-law, Henry Thompson, a Mr. Weiner and James Townsend. Sanborn says: "The weapons used were short cutlasses, straight and broad, and were freshly ground for this expedition at the camp of John Brown, Jr." "Life and Letters of John Brown," page 264.

The men murdered were surprised in bed about 2 o'clock in the morning of May 26, 1859. One of these was William Sherman. James Harris in his testimony before the committee of Congress answers: "I took Mr. William Sherman out of the crowd and examined him. Mr. Whitman was with me. Sherman's skull was split in two places and some of his brain was washed out by the water. A large hole was cut out of his breast, and his left hand was cut off except a little piece of skin on one side." Sanborn says: "When the bodies of the dead were found, there went up a cry that they had been mutilated, but this was because of the weapons used." Ordinarily it would seem that two slashes through the skull from which the brain was oozing might suffice without the extra thrust on the side and the lopping off of a hand. However, the director was a man of "high ideals" and mutilation was impossible.

Another of the victims was Mr. Wilkinson, who was the postmaster at Sherman'sville (now Lane), and also a member of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas. Mr. Wilkinson in his testimony said that she was sick in bed with the measles, that she begged them to let her husband stay with her as she was helpless. The old man (Brown) who seemed to be in command, looked at me and then around at the children, and replied: 'You have neighbors.' They then took my husband away. One of them came back and took two saddles. The next morning Mr. Wilkinson was found. I believe that one of Captain Brown's sons was in the party who murdered my husband. My husband was a quiet man and was not engaged in arresting or disturbing anybody."

Three Doxies, father and sons, both of the lads under age, were also murdered. This, then, the horses and saddles of the dead men were taken along, and according to Sanborn, taken to northern Kansas and traded off. This author styles the killing of these persons as "executions," those killed in retaliation by Pro-Slavery outlaws he calls the "Marais des Cygnes murders."

On December 20, 1859, John Brown led an expedition from Kansas into Missouri and forcibly took from their lawful owner slaves, horses and other property, and one of his men killed one white man, the master, who fought against the liberation" (quotation from a letter written by John Brown), and as a result of these and other unlawful acts, he, according to Sanborn, "left Kansas pursued by United States troops" (page 261), and to escape arrest and punishment lived

in various States under the names of Isaac Smith, Shubel Morgan, James Smith and Nelson Hawkins. In a letter to Eliza Follen dated April 10, 1857, this man of "high ideals, heroic valor and grim energy" says: "I am advised that one of Uncle Sam's hounds is on my track." (Page 362.)

Of the high idealism which was rampant at this period this letter from Theodore Parker, the great divine of Boston, may be an indication: "My dear Judge (Russell): If John Brown falls into the hands of the marshal from Kansas, he is sure of the gallows or of something yet worse. If I were in his position I would shoot dead any man who attempted to arrest me for those alleged crimes; then I should be tried by a Massachusetts jury and acquitted." (Page 312.)

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